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NO JUST CAUSE FOR A DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION IN ANY THING  
WHICH HAS HITHERTO HAPPENED; BUT THE UNION THE ONLY SECURITY  
FOR SOUTHERN RIGHTS.

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# AN ORATION,

DELIVERED BEFORE

THE CITIZENS OF TUSCALOOSA, ALA.,

JULY 4th, 1851;

BY F. A. P. BARNARD, M.A.,

*Professor of Chemistry and Natural History in the University of Alabama.*

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FURNISHED FOR PUBLICATION BY REQUEST

OF THE MAYOR AND ALDERMEN OF THE CITY.

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Tuscaloosa:

PRINTED BY J. W. & J. F. WARREN, "OBSERVER OFFICE."

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1851.





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THE CITIZENS OF TUSCALOOSA, ALA.,

JULY 4th, 1851;

BY F. A. P. BARNARD, M.A.,

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ugustus  
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## ORATION.

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FELLOW CITIZENS :

We are assembled to celebrate the seventy-fifth return of the birthday of American liberty. Three quarters of a century ago this day, the thirteen united colonies of Great Britain on this continent declared themselves absolved from all further allegiance to the British crown. Seven years later, at the close of an exhausting war, they found themselves reduced to the lowest extremity of national distress. All private enterprise was paralyzed and blasted, and a frightful depreciation had fallen upon all the evidences of the public debt. The new States, still in the feebleness of their infancy, and now miserably debilitated by years of wasting warfare, lay widely scattered along a thousand miles of coast, and still half enveloped in the original forest. Intercommunication was slow and difficult. There is not one of them which is not virtually nearer to the European continent at this day than they were then to their nearest neighbors. Though nominally united in a species of compact entered into for the common defence, they found themselves wholly unable to arrange any common scheme for raising up the broken fortunes of the country—for repairing its ruined credit, or stimulating into new life its prostrate industry. A few years of disheartening experience were sufficient to produce a universal conviction, that something must be done to harmonize their distracted counsels and give unity to their efforts for the common weal. Out of this conviction sprung the measures which resulted in the ultimate adoption of the present federal constitution.

It is no part of my purpose, to-day, to indulge in eulogy of this noble instrument. We have been permitted to see what, in little more than sixty years of trial, it has done for a people, whom it found at the lowest ebb of national depression, and whom it has raised to the

highest pitch of national grandeur. The world never before witnessed a progress so stupendous. Other nations have risen on the ruins of their rivals, and gathered strength by reducing all around them to weakness. Their wealth has been steeped in the tears of the plundered, and their glories have been stained by the blood of the slain. Crushed beneath the conquering car of Alexander, the far East crouched at the feet of Imperial Macedon ; and borne down by the ferocious legions of Cæsar, the West received the yoke of Imperial Rome. Far different has been the march of the American Republic. She, too, has made her conquests, but it has been forests which have bowed, mountain barriers which have been laid low, and rocky fastnesses which have surrendered at her resistless approach. No subjugated monarchs have worn her shackles or swelled the train of her triumphal processions. She has imposed her chains upon the elements themselves, and constrained the powers of nature to pay her tribute. Her domain looks out on one side toward the broad Atlantic, and on the other rests upon the shores of the great South Sea. Her eagle sweeps uninterrupted from ocean to ocean, and as he hovers over the land he symbolizes, dips a wing in either wave. There is no sea where her canvas is not spread to the breeze, no land to which her enterprising sons have not conveyed the knowledge of her greatness. The civilized world stands viewing with amazement her gigantic strides in the path to supremacy. Admitted but yesterday into the family of nations, among whom she was esteemed to hold the very humblest rank, she disputes to-day with Britain the sovereignty of the seas, and divides with empires of a thousand years the dominion of the land.

These are no words of idle boasting strung together to amuse you, or to flatter that inordinate vanity of which our countrymen have been accused. That which has been esteemed the peculiar vocation of the American village orator has ceased to be. Europe herself has wrested from his hand the glowing pen, and has usurped at once his functions of chronicler and prophet. In evi-

dence of the spirit which at length begins to pervade the speculations of British writers upon American progress, I quote the following from the London *Athenæum* :

"The American census is not yet complete ; but the returns already received point to conclusions far beyond hope or expectation. Look at New York, for instance. In 1820 it had a population of 123,000 ; in 1830, 203,000 ; in 1840, 312,000. This rate of increase was unparalleled in the history of statistics. But the population is now said to have risen to the astonishing number of 750,000 ! This includes the suburb of Brooklyn, etc. There are but two larger cities in Europe ; in ten years more, at the same rate of progress, it will be larger than Paris. In thirty years from this date New York will, on the same terms, be larger than London.

"And it must be considered that the commercial capital of America is not fed, like our Manchester and Liverpool, at the expense of the country ; its advance is the type of that of an entire continent. In 1810 the population of St. Louis was 1600 ; in 1830, 6600 ; in 1840, 16,400 ; in 1850, it numbered 90,000 ! So far as the general nature of the returns can be inferred from the data at hand, the population of the Union will be about 25,000,000.\* From the year 1800, when the number was a little more than 5,000,000, to 1840 when it had advanced to 17,000,000, the decimal rate of increase was about 33 per cent. This rate would have given for 1850 a population of 22,000,000 only.

"Material power has been developed equally with population. Great Britain alone excepted, no state in Europe could now maintain equal armaments in the field for any length of time. This marvellous growth is deranging all the old tradition of 'balances of power.' America is not only a first-class state—in a few years, if no internal disorder shall occur, she will be the greatest of all. Should the 1840-50 rate of increase be maintained for fifty years, the population will then amount to more than 100,000,000! *German wars and French revolutions sink into complete insignificance by the side of considerations like these.*

"With such a comment, how well we may understand the 'roars of laughter' with which the American Senate recently received the menaces of Austria ! When the United States shook off the yoke of England, their people numbered no more than 3,000,000 ; when they were last measured against a European power they were not more than 8,000,000. Ten years hence they will be equal to France or Austria. There hardly seems to be a limit to their growth. The valley of the Mississippi would alone support the whole population of Europe. In its vast basin, nations are now growing up as if at the bidding of enchantment."

These are the words of an intelligent European in speaking of the future of America. One sentence of the passage deserves, especially at this moment, to be deeply pondered by every sincere friend of civil and political liberty. "America," says the writer, "is not only a first-class state—in a few years, if no internal disorder occurs, she will be the greatest of all." Is this not a thing to be desired ? Let us see. America stands before the world to-day, the sole champion of those inestimable principles of popular government on the prevalence of which depends the redemption of a world from political bondage.

\* These numbers are not rigidly accurate, but sufficiently so for the purpose of the illustration.



To her welcoming arms are now fleeing, year after year, thousands and tens of thousands of the down-trodden victims of European tyranny ; and beneath her protecting flag are gathering the hundreds of gallant, generous-hearted, but unfortunate patriots whom the fiendish malignity which rules by right divine has hunted with whips of scorpions from their homes. The crushed and bruised spirits who remain yield for the time to a despotism from which there is no immediate deliverance ; but in their stolen moments of secret communion they breathe to each other the name of America, and feel that, while she survives, there is still hope for them. Their hearts by day go forth across the waters to meet our sympathies, and when at night they bend the knee to heaven, their prayers ascend to God for blessings on that starry banner in the West, at the very rustling of whose folds their task-masters tremble in their palaces.

That the smothered fire which now burns restlessly beneath the surface of society throughout Europe has been kindled at the torch of American liberty, must be obvious to the most superficial observer. That the hopes of those who feed it are kept alive by the example of American success, is just as obvious. Let the hallowed light expire, of which heaven has made us the guardians, and these cherished hopes will all be swallowed up in the blackness of despair. The hour of deliverance, for which millions are eagerly panting, will again be postponed ; and the shadow will go backward upon the dial of freedom, perhaps for centuries.

But this is not all. When America shall have become the leading power of the earth, when her sons shall number one hundred millions of freemen and the population of her Mississippi valley alone shall outnumber half a dozen European monarchies, she will be not merely the example and the encouragement, but the powerful protector of the wretched and oppressed. She will no longer permit herself to be a passive spectator of events that affect the happiness of the whole human race. She will not patiently see a new-born republic stifled in its infancy, as recently in Rome, because it is an eyesore to kings ;

nor a gallant people ground into the dust, as recently in Hungary, because they dare to vindicate their immemorial rights. She may not undertake a Quixotic crusade of political propagandism, nor seek to thrust free institutions upon such as hug their chains and kiss the hand that smites them ; but surely, surely, she will no more suffer venerable age to be brutally massacred, or defenceless beauty to be stripped and lashed in the public streets, by the fiendish Haynaus of another century. She will permit no monarchical reactions enforced at the point of the bayonet ; and tolerate no conspiracies of tyrants, at Warsaw, or at Dresden, or at Olmutz, how they may best hold a continent in chains. Every foot of territory fairly redeemed from despotism by the bravery of its inhabitants shall, in the shadow of her powerful protection, be consecrated to liberty forever ; and it shall fare ill with him, be he tyrant or tyrant's bloodhound, who shall dare again to plot against its peace.

And yet there are not wanting those among us who would arrest this majestic Republic in the fulfilment of her sublime mission ; who would shatter it into fragments, and give it over to anarchy, confusion, and ruin. There are not wanting men so false to liberty, to humanity, and to heaven that they would draw down upon this smiling land all the horrors of civil war, and fight, in effect, the battles of tyranny upon a soil consecrated to freedom. At both extremities of the Union we hear that glorious Constitution, under whose benignant influences a nation has been born in a day, made a continual subject of reviling and bitterness. On the one hand it is denounced as an instrument conceived in sin and a compact made with hell ; and on the other, stigmatized as a monstrous engine of tyranny, unworthy to be the charter of a free people. So familiarized have we become to language like this, that it has ceased to shock our sensibilities, and almost to attract our attention. It is deliberately proposed and earnestly advocated, all around us, that with sacrilegious hands we should tear down the temple of liberty which shelters us and bury ourselves beneath its ruins, and the public listens to the

demoniac suggestion with calmness and composure. It is even possible for an American citizen publicly to urge a desecration of this very Sabbath of liberty, to a purpose so atrocious, so shocking, so absolutely horrible, as that of entrapping little children into a public and solemn league, to grow up sworn traitors to the Government which protected their infancy. This has been actually done, not one month since, in a leading organ of disunion in a State not far distant ; and the press which uttered the abomination still stands—still stands to repeat daily other propositions scarcely less atrocious and abominable—propositions to intimidate the weak, to ostracize the independent, and to damn every man whose birth has not been beneath the palmetto. From the *Charleston Mercury* of June 11th I quote the following suggestion by a correspondent : “ That the coming anniversary of the Declaration of Independence should be made use of by our young friends (boys from the age of nine years and upwards) to form Southern Rights Associations ; and to swear upon the altar of their country (I mean the South only) their devoted, eternal, and never-dying hatred to our infamously aggressive, oppressive, and fanatical Government.” A more fiendish proposition never emanated from the bottomless pit.

And now, to what is all this deep-seated bitterness owing ? I need not be told what is the immediate cause of its present manifestations. I have no need to hear again the story of the repeated and frequent intermeddlings with affairs of strictly domestic interest, in which the North has been the assailant and the South the sufferer. That hostility and even rancor should have sprung up among us toward the people of the North, on this account, can hardly be considered surprising. But the aggressions and threats of aggression have proceeded mainly from private individuals, or voluntary associations, actuated by a spirit of fanaticism, and clothed with no political character whatever. The efforts made to introduce this species of agitation into politics have been rewarded by no substantial successes. On the other hand, in a fair trial of strength, during the lifetime of the



last Congress, political abolitionism has been substantially defeated, and State after State has withdrawn the legislation which has previously and justly given offence to the South. At this very moment the entire energies of the Federal Government are put in action to secure the faithful execution of the law which has been regarded as a test of its sincerity of purpose, and the local authorities, wherever called upon, as recently in Boston, have earnestly co-operated to the same end. Whatever bitterness of feeling, therefore, individual or associated agitation or resistance at the North may have been calculated to awaken in the South, there is nothing in all this to call for or to justify denunciations of the organic law of the land. If we have been injured in this respect, it has not been the Federal Constitution which has injured us, if we have suffered wrong, the wrong has not come from the hand of the Federal Government. There are, I believe, causes much deeper than this for that war which has been waged to the knife against the Union which has secured to us as a people so glorious a name among the nations of the earth—causes, however, which are so misunderstood in their origin, that the remedy so often appealed to for their removal would only serve to perpetuate their disastrous effects.

The soreness of feeling, however, produced in the Southern mind by the infringement of undeniable rights and the interference with strictly private affairs, to which I have alluded, has been seized upon by agitators as the most available means of accomplishing their ulterior designs. On this account they have spared no effort to stimulate it into rancor and goad it on to madness. It would occupy a volume to point out and expose the various modes in which this has been done. A single instance will suffice. It has been affirmed and reaffirmed that the organized associations for preying upon Southern property were stealing away annually thousands of your most efficient laborers. The enormous sums thus yearly detracted from Southern wealth have been paraded in staring capitals before your eyes. One hundred thousand fugitives in the free States at this

moment has been the smallest number that would satisfy the moderate estimates of the experimenters on your credulity—and these, being drawn from among the strong, vigorous, and *able to run*, have been assumed to represent a sum total of plunder amounting to \$50,000,000. Now what says the Census of 1850? There are not *two* hundred thousand free negroes in all the free States put together. And for twenty years this population has been nearly stationary. Since 1840, the natural increase, with all the imaginary fugitives added, has been about eight per cent, while the natural increase of that portion of the colored race held as your property has been more than twenty-two per cent. The white population, North, has, in the meantime, increased twenty-eight per cent, and in the South at a rate still higher.

These simple statistics are sufficient to show how absolute a piece of manufacture for the occasion have been the statements put forth on this subject by agitators to delude you. And to all this class of efforts to produce alarm, and generate excitement, in the South, may be opposed the calm and dispassionate judgment of the sagacious and prudent statesman who has represented your sovereignty in the national councils ever since Alabama became a State, that “there is less danger of encroachments upon Southern rights (now) than at any time for the last twenty years.”

What then is the true secret of this revolutionary madness? Public men in a State not very distant have not scrupled openly to avow that they have been living and laboring for twenty or twenty-five years past with no other earthly object but the dissolution of the Union of these States. Yet, according to these very men, the dangerous encroachments upon your rights, which they so indignantly denounce and so eloquently adjure you to resist, date back no farther than the year 1835. Twenty years ago, then, the war on your institutions had not yet opened; but something *had* happened twenty years ago which you would do well to remember.

The tariff act of 1828 had hardly gone into operation before an agitation on the subject began, in South Caro-

lina and elsewhere, carried on by the aid of all the machinery which politicians know so well how to employ. So early as September, 1830, a general State Rights Convention was assembled in Columbia, which ended as usual in an inflammatory address to the people. These local evidences of dissatisfaction produced, however, but slight impression on the country; and none whatever upon its general policy; for, on the 14th day of July, 1832, President Jackson affixed his signature to a new tariff act, retaining every stringent and offensive feature of the former, which had been known, and is still, in the vocabulary of nullification, as the bill of abominations.

On the 25th of October, in the same year, the Legislature of South Carolina called a convention of the people, to assemble at Columbia in the following month, for the purpose of taking into consideration the obnoxious laws of the Federal Government then existing, or any others which might be subsequently passed; and of devising means of redress. On the 19th of November, this convention assembled, and proceeded to pass an ordinance, declaring both the acts of 1828 and 1832 null and void within the State of South Carolina; and naming the first of February, 1833, as the day on which this ordinance should take effect. On the 10th day of December General Jackson put forth his famous proclamation, declaring his intention to execute the laws of Congress at every hazard, and solemnly warning the people of South Carolina of the inevitable consequences of resistance. On the first of March, the great pacificator, Henry Clay, had the satisfaction of seeing his tariff compromise become the law of the land; and, on the same day, the bill to provide for the more effectual execution of the revenue laws, commonly called the force-bill, passed the House of Representatives. On the 11th of the same month the State convention of South Carolina reassembled. Though the law of Mr. Clay provided but for a very slow and gradual removal of the burthens complained of, but held out the certain prospect of nine years more of endurance, yet this body, finding itself uncheered by a whisper of aid or comfort from without, was constrained to repeal

the ordinance of nullification. As a salvo to the wounded pride of the State, it, at the same time, solemnly nullified the force-bill; a proceeding which, considering that no obstruction was contemplated to the execution of the laws, was trivial and nugatory.

This series of events is what took place twenty years ago. In this unfortunate and fruitless struggle it was, between a self-willed State and the Government of the Union, that first originated that fixed and settled purpose to overthrow the Constitution, which has been so long secretly cherished, and which is now openly avowed.\* The original cause of disaffection has been merged in bitter hatred of a Government whose fundamental principle is that a minority shall not rule. And now what was this cause? It is to be sought for, not in any dissatisfaction with the generally beneficial results which the Constitution has wrought out for the Union as a whole, but rather in a conviction that the benefits have been unequally distributed. Such a conviction has been, is probably at this moment, partaken by very many who feel no disposition to rush into disunion as a remedy. Indeed the impression seems extensively to exist, that, by the operation of the Federal Constitution, through Federal legislation, the South has been made, in some sort, tributary to the North. The nature of the feeling cannot be better illustrated than by the following extract from an article which appeared in an Alabama newspaper about two years ago :

"At present, the North fattens and grows rich upon the South. We depend upon it for our entire supplies. We purchase all our luxuries and necessities from the North. . . . .

"With us, every branch and pursuit in life, every trade, profession, and occupation, is dependent upon the North; for instance, the Northerners abuse and denounce slavery and slaveholders, yet our slaves are clothed with Northern manufactured goods, have Northern hats and shoes, work with Northern hoes, ploughs, and other implements, are chastised with a Northern-made instrument, are working for Northern more than Southern profit. The slaveholder dresses in Northern goods, rides a Northern saddle with all the other accoutrements, sports his Northern carriage, patronizes Northern newspapers, drinks Northern liquors, reads Northern books, spends his money at Northern watering-places, crowds Northern fashionable resorts; in short, his person, his slaves, his farm, his necessities, his luxuries—as he walks, rides, sleeps, loafs, lounges, or works, he is surrounded with articles of Northern origin. The aggressive acts

\* See note A.



upon his rights and his property arouse his resentment—and on Northern-made paper, with a Northern pen, with Northern ink, he resolves and re-resolves in regard to his rights ! In Northern vessels his products are carried to market, his cotton is ginned with Northern gins, his sugar is crushed and preserved by Northern machinery ; his rivers are navigated by Northern steamboats, his mails are carried in Northern stages, his negroes are fed with Northern bacon, beef, flour, and corn ; his land is cleared with a Northern axe, and a Yankee clock sits upon his mantel-piece ; his floor is swept by a Northern broom, and is covered with a Northern carpet ; and his wife dresses herself in a Northern looking-glass ; his child cries for a Northern toy, crows over a Northern shoe, and is perfectly happy in having a Northern knife ; his son is educated at a Northern college, his daughter receives the finishing polish at a Northern seminary ; his doctor graduates at a Northern medical college, his schools are supplied with Northern teachers, and he is furnished with Northern inventions and notions."

Will it not just possibly occur to thinking minds that all these complaints may be well-founded and just, and yet their causes not in the slightest degree attributable to the American Constitution ? May it not also occur, that if the evils complained of have not their origin in the imputed source, a violent disruption of the Union can bring no remedy ? Is it not worth while to consider whether all the elements of human happiness are not as much within our own reach as in that of our Northern brethren, and that, if we do not use them within the Union, there is just as little reason for believing that we shall do so out of it ?

Let us examine the case, for a moment, by the light of philosophy, and inquire what there is in our circumstances to prevent the South from becoming as great, as good, and in all respects as happy a people as the world ever saw.

Numerous elements contribute to the sum of human happiness. Highest in point of dignity among these we should properly place intelligence, intellectual cultivation, virtuous principle, practical morality, religious freedom, and personal and political liberty. No one will complain that the Constitution affects us unequally in regard to any of these things. But this is not all. Happiness presumes, further, immunity from want, and the possession of such of the comforts and luxuries of life as shall secure not only freedom from positive physical suffering, but a reasonable amount of positive physical enjoyment. The aggregate of such possessions in the hands of the people constitutes national wealth.

If the Constitution of the Union be assumed to affect us unfavorably, therefore, in any point essential to national happiness, the presumption must be that, through its influence, we suffer in our pecuniary interests. And indeed the burden of all the complaints we hear on this subject, from whatever quarter uttered, is precisely this—by our union with the North we are impoverished by her union with us she is enriched. That these propositions are in one sense true, is undeniable. What I propose, however, to prove is, that the connection between the North and the South, which has brought about results so dissimilar, is not the political union ; that for the evils of which we complain, the downfall of the Constitution could bring no remedy ; but that all the causes of our deficient prosperity are wholly unconnected with legislation, are within our own control, and removable at our own free-will.

And first a word as to the true dignity of wealth. Do we not magnify its importance, and, by exhibiting so sensitive a spirit in regard to it, do we not manifest a mercenary disposition ? I think not. As a means of individual happiness, wealth would indeed seem to occupy a very low rank. But in communities wealth is, certainly, to a considerable extent, essential to the existence of an elevated tone of morality. Poverty in isolated cases is, no doubt, often found to co-exist with the highest purity of virtue, and the nearest approach to the beauty of holiness of which human nature is capable ; but all experience has shown that the same is not equally true of great masses of men in society.

The reasons for the difference may be more numerous than it would be convenient here to analyze ; but there are two so especially prominent, that they cannot be left unnoticed. And first, wherever the presence of want compels a whole community to expend all their energies in providing for the animal man, the general mind is kept down to the level of the labor, and man is degraded from his dignity as an intellectual being. His thoughts are bent, perforce, upon the task which occupies his hands, or the contingent evils which may spring out of its unsuccessful

execution. He has no time to devote to his own intellectual cultivation, or to the proper training of the tender minds of his offspring. The means are wanting to himself, and to his companions in penury, to provide those facilities for the general education of the young, which, in more favored communities, fill up in great measure the deficiency of parental care. Under circumstances like these a depression of the standard of national morality is all but inevitable, and the universal prevalence of intellectual darkness becomes a settled certainty.

The barriers against vice and crime being thus weakened, it is secondly to be remembered that with want comes temptation of the most dangerous kind. If fraud and treachery, if craft and cunning, if violence and bloodshed, cannot be excluded from communities in the enjoyment of every physical comfort, and provided with every means of mental, moral, and religious culture, what can be expected of a people to whom all these securities are wanting, and whom present and urgent necessity is ever goading on to crime? In illustration of these observations what more is necessary than to point to oppressed, unhappy, and down-trodden Ireland!

It appears, therefore, that, to a certain extent, the possession of wealth is essential to the security of other and higher elements of national happiness. But it is more. It is essential to all progress in civilization, in refinement, in knowledge, in scientific discovery, in every useful and in every ornamental art. It is essential to that first condition, necessary to render progress of any kind whatever possible—the exclusive devotion of the labor of some at least in a community to other pursuits beside the personal preparation of the means of sustaining life. And in proportion as the labor of a larger number is turned into other and various channels, in the same proportion will the arts receive their development, and the comforts and elegances of social life be multiplied.

It is not, therefore, without reason that nations strive, and ought to strive, for the increase of the general wealth. That which in an individual would be covetous-

ness or avarice, is not such in communities ; it is a laudable ambition to secure the instrument, by which are to be most effectually promoted the highest interests of man as a rational and a moral being.

But wealth is not of spontaneous growth. It is the offspring of never-ceasing industry. So true is this, that it has not in itself even the principle of permanence when produced. Our possessions of to-day are wasting before our eyes. Let us for a moment fold our arms in idleness, and "our poverty will come upon us as one that traveleth, and our want as an armed man." Ten years from this time we may be as rich or richer than to-day ; but our wealth of to-day will in great part have perished, to give place to other possessions as ephemeral as these. The seeming permanence or fluctuation of a nation's wealth is, therefore, but a visible index of the degree of steadiness of its industry, or the skill and judgment with which its labor is applied.

This last suggestion brings me to the point which I have been preparing to approach. It is not enough that, in order to be wealthy, a people should be industrious—it is necessary that judgment should select the channels into which its labor is turned, and skill should preside over its immediate application.

The wants of civilized man are spread over a very wide field. The channels of labor have been multiplied almost to infinity. Some of these demand, principally, the exercise of strength, and are exhausting to the laborer in the highest degree ; while so little is required in them of intellectual activity, or even of manual dexterity, that the brute forces of nature may often be substituted for the execution of the same work.

There are other departments of labor for which strength is less required, but which demand proportionately greater skill ; and others still, such as the arts of engraving, and the division of mathematical instruments, in which skill alone is necessary, but skill of the highest order.

Considered as means of producing wealth, these various kinds of labor are very unequally valuable. Those,



as a general rule, which require the greatest exertion of physical strength are the least productive of all ; and those in which the element of skill predominates, the most so. The marketable values of the several products are out of all proportion to the time, or to the merely animal exertion, which has been expended on them. The visible wealth of a people will be, therefore, quite as much dependent on the direction given to its industry, as upon the absolute amount of labor employed to produce and sustain it. And an enlightened economy will seek, so far as circumstances allow, to introduce and encourage, in every community, those branches of industry which are secure of the highest rewards.

For the lowest and least productive descriptions of labor there will always be a demand, and usually an abundant supply. The capacities of individuals are as various as human pursuits. But it is a perversion of the gifts of nature to waste capacities of a superior order upon tasks to which all are alike equal, or in which they only differ as they differ in animal strength. The mere drudgery which society requires may be supplied, and is, by a moderate proportion of its members. Beyond this, there is room for immense improvement in wealth, by the judicious direction of the disposable labor which remains. To degrade this to the same level is unwise ; to leave it wholly unemployed, as is, to a lamentable extent, the case with us, is more unwise still.

That I may better illustrate the application of these principles in practice, allow me to make the following supposition. Imagine two nations, equally favored by nature, equal in numbers, and equal in extent of territory. Suppose free communication to exist between them ; but let both be cut off from all commerce with every other people. Suppose the arts to be with both in their infancy ; and that both are occupied, at first, mainly with the pursuits rendered necessary by the earliest wants of man. The industry of both will, for the most part, be expended upon the cultivation of the earth. Their earliest garments, dwellings, and implements of husbandry will be of the rudest kind. In the midst of

one of these communities let the spirit of invention be awakened. Let superior tools, more comfortable garments, and better shelters make their appearance. Let new devices be contrived for the promotion of human comfort—in short, let the arts spring into birth. Their neighbors, still slumbering in intellectual torpor, will soon be roused by observing their improved condition. They too will naturally desire to partake of the same advantages. Two methods will suggest themselves for the attainment of this end. The first and simplest is to purchase the products of the newly-developed industry ; the second, to transplant to their own soil the arts by which they were produced. Suppose them, from indolence or any other cause, to prefer the former. But, in order to purchase, they must offer an equivalent. Their labor being wholly agricultural, they can propose nothing but the productions of the soil. These they may raise in greater quantity than their own necessities require ; and the surplus they may exchange for the better tools, fabrics, and articles of comfort or luxury manufactured by their more progressive neighbors.

What will be the effect upon these last ? The opening of a market for their productions will stimulate into activity among them a larger amount of labor of the higher order hitherto unemployed, and will enable them to prosecute improvement in art to higher degrees of skill. With every step in advance new additions will be made to the means of human happiness. The mind, excited to activity by the progress of invention, will presently pursue its investigations into the region of science, and man will as rapidly rise in the intellectual as in the physical scale.

It will presently appear that the labor of one artisan is twice or thrice as valuable as that of an agriculturist ; and, consequently, that the wealth of the progressive people has become double or triple of what it was at first. By the multiplication of objects of use and ornament the people who have hitherto remained exclusively agricultural will find their wants increasing, while their means remain stationary. Nor will they even enjoy

a monopoly in producing the only articles which they can employ in international exchanges. For the manufacturing nation has still its soil, and still an adequate supply of that humbler kind of capacity which, under an intelligent directing head, is able to cause the earth to yield her increase. Indeed, the existence of any demand for agricultural products from abroad, which the native soil is capable of yielding, in great measure arises from the fact that, with increasing prosperity, a community becomes proportionally lavish in the consumption of the good things of this life.

For the non-manufacturing people to stimulate its agricultural industry, and thus increase its production, would evidently afford no adequate remedy ; for increased production would operate only to depress prices.

Here, then, we should see, between two nations commencing under circumstances in all respects equally favorable, and totally unaffected by legislation of any kind whatever, the widest contrast in point of prosperity. One of them is in the easy enjoyment of every thing which art has invented for the promotion of human happiness, and is rapidly multiplying new comforts and new luxuries as time goes on. With physical improvement, intellectual development is advancing hand in hand, and the measure of the progress of both may be read in the rapid expansion of national wealth. The other has remained stationary ; or rather, its wants having outgrown its means, it has become virtually poorer by standing still.

These consequences, I cannot too often repeat, are so wholly independent of constitutions and laws, of forms of government or their administration, that they would occur if we were to suppose our two communities, instead of being nations distinctly separated, to be two villages side by side. I am far from denying that legislation may interfere with the natural and free course of trade—I am simply asserting the principle that, in the absence of legislation, or under legislation precisely similar, communities of men, by the direction they give to labor, have their prosperity mainly in their own hands. And,

to allude to a grievance often complained of among us, I may here remark, that high duties upon such imported articles as can, and upon every principle of wise economy ought to be, made at home, are permanently oppressive only in exact proportion as a people are obstinately resolved not to provide for themselves.

But the condition of the merely agricultural people would become still more unfortunate, if we suppose that other nations beside have access to the markets of her thriving neighbor, and bring to them similar commodities. By such competition she may be depressed still lower, if not reduced to absolute distress.

There is one condition which may except a people exclusively agricultural from the ruinous operation of this general law. It is, that it possess a climate and soil capable of yielding, on a large scale, some product indispensable to its manufacturing neighbors, but which they can neither produce themselves, nor obtain in sufficient abundance elsewhere. With such a climate and such a soil, a people strictly agricultural may be rich, though they so heedlessly disregard the economy of labor as to purchase a thousand miles from home the simplest instruments with which they stir the ground. They may grow rich, though the rude shoes on the feet of their laborers and the shirts on their backs may have made a journey for their comfort across half a continent. They may thus grow rich upon the lavish bounty of Nature herself; in spite of the careless unconcern with which they neglect the more exhaustless resources which God has given them in their own strong but idle right arms, and their naturally acute but slumbering ingenuity.

But riches thus bestowed, while the means of greater riches remain unemployed, will never give contentment. The peculiar product of the soil, in the case supposed, would have no value were it not capable in the hands of labor of assuming a higher value still. This value the producer sees imparted to it by men who, having devoted themselves in a distant land to no other occupation, have apparently no other resource, and who seem, therefore, to be living by his sufferance only. But they do



not merely live : they accumulate wealth, they build up thriving towns—arts flourish and multiply among them, and population increases, till the sterile soil beneath them, of itself scarcely capable of supporting a handful of human beings, swarms everywhere with busy life.

The producer sees all this. He compares the wealth which the raw material has left in his hands, with that which has been wrung from it in the process of manufacture, and he almost feels as if he had suffered wrong. But this is not all. Confining himself to production solely, and leaving even the transportation of the commodity in the hands of others, he presently perceives that the merest contact with his wealth enriches, and that no small portion clings to the hands that simply handle it. And when, after all this, he applies to the very same men to whose prosperity he has already supplied the life's blood, for all those various articles of necessity or use or luxury, which he might have provided for himself, but did not, and finds the accumulations of one year of labor melting away in provision for another, all to the profit of those who have done nothing but profit by him from beginning to end, it is not surprising that he should become seriously annoyed at a state of things in which all the advantages appear to be on one side.

In the imaginary picture which I have thus drawn, it seems to me that I have truly described the situation of the cotton-producing States of the Union at this moment. But if the principles which I have laid down be correct, it is utterly visionary to seek a remedy for the evil in an interruption of the relations of business between the North and the South. By such an interruption the North might be seriously injured, but the South would have nothing to gain. If she still pursues her policy of producing cotton only, and of leaving others to manufacture it ; of indulging freely in all the luxuries of life, and leaving others to prepare them—nay, more, of holding out only discouragement to the intelligent labor of white men, while she purchases her pins and needles, her screws and gimlets, her knives and ham-

mers, her broomsticks and hoe-handles, her lucifer matches and her baby-jumpers from abroad—I see not, for my part, what it can matter to her whether all these “notions,” which she ought to be ashamed to buy at all, are manufactured for her use in the land of the Yankees or in the workshops of John Bull. One point of difference only is perceptible, and that is in favor of the existing arrangement—we obtain them at present free of duty.

This habit, in which we have so long lived, of resorting to workshops at a distance for almost every conceivable article of manufacture, has made us, with all our wealth, a dependent people. To a sensitive mind nothing is more annoying than a feeling of dependence; and to this fact I feel that I am justified in ascribing, as I have already done, no small portion of the dissatisfaction which has grown out of the state of our relations with the North. The offensiveness of those protective enactments of which I have spoken grew not so much out of their directly oppressive effect in the South, as out of the stimulus they were calculated to give to Northern prosperity. It was felt or feared that they would increase a dependence on our part already too grievous to be borne. From this condition of things our people have become impatient to be free; and this it is, as I am forced to believe, more truly than any other existing evil, which has caused the word disunion to be of late so often and so lightly spoken among us, and the thought of what it signifies to be contemplated with so little of horror.

But unless I am entirely wrong in all my premises, disunion would bring with it but a transfer of our dependence. The wealth with which we now enrich our Northern brethren would be poured into the coffers of a foreign people. Other ships would carry our cotton, other brokers would speculate upon it, other merchants would send back to us the manufactured fabric for our consumption at home. And Northern hammers, Northern axes, Northern kettles, and Northern broomsticks would only give place to similar articles from foreign sources,

liable to duty. Disunion, fellow-citizens, may bring with it many advantages which I am unable to discover ; but disunion, believe me, is not the road to independence. And it may serve to check the rash madness which would blindly plunge into this ruinous abyss, to become once satisfied that all the pictures of consequent prosperity and greatness with which its instigators amuse you, are baseless as the wildest visions shaped out by a delirious imagination in a fevered brain.

By what means, then, shall we be independent ? By adopting the only course that could have made us so—could have saved us even from a dependence still more humiliating and degrading—if bountiful nature had not made us rich : by ceasing to buy of others every article, down to the smallest essential to human comfort, and learning at last to make something for ourselves.

I am aware that there are great difficulties in the way of so radical a change of habits. We have at our disposal an immense amount of involuntary labor. Could that, or any considerable part of it, be turned with facility from agriculture to manufactures, the problem would admit of an easy solution. We have also a considerable amount of white labor distributed over our territory, engaged also in the cultivation of the ground. But this is unaccompanied by capital, deficient in intelligence, bound down in the struggle for a difficult subsistence to an unvarying routine, entirely unconcentrated, and incapable of self-concentration.

If there is to be a change in the economical distribution of labor among us, the initiative must be taken by those of our citizens who are able to be employers. Such have hitherto held themselves personally above labor—at least the labor of the hands. Whether this feeling has not been carried too far, admits of more than a question. Whether the true dignity of labor has not been undervalued, is worthy of our serious consideration. Our domestic institutions have powerfully contributed to keep the feeling alive. Wherever involuntary labor on a large scale exists, idleness is too apt to be confounded with respectability. And by the admission and recogni-

tion of a false social standard, a vast amount of the most productive descriptions of industry—the most productive because demanding the highest exercise of skill—is effectually ostracized, to make room for a class of men who, while idle themselves, complain that they are not prosperous.

There is nothing to prevent the successful introduction among us of every useful art. There are many things in our situation which give us great natural advantages over those to whom we are now accustomed to look for our supplies. The British prints and muslins in the shops of Tuscaloosa have, in one form or another, made a journey equal to a third part of the circumference of the globe. They have paid the expense of freights, commissions, insurances, and custom-house duties, and have come to us burthened with all these additions to their intrinsic value. Had the cotton grown in England, they would have been taxed but in one direction. Had the British cotton-mill been built in Alabama, the whole chain of impositions would have had no existence.

Now I do not wish to make any comment upon what any cotton-mill in Alabama has yet done ; but I do wish to call your attention to what a British mill transplanted here would be capable of doing. And in any statistical statements which I may here introduce, I wish you to understand that I put forth no vague and uncertain conjectures hazarded by myself ; but I give you the results of experience, as ascertained by men who have been for many years engaged in forwarding your cotton to market, and in bringing to your doors the various products of Northern and foreign industry. Let, then, such a mill, constructed on the bold and liberal scale which distinguishes the British factories, be set down on the banks of the *Warrior*, and furnished with the raw material at its own doors. In the first place, it could purchase its cotton at a cost permanently four cents per pound cheaper than at present, and would be able to turn out its fabrics at a corresponding reduction below the contemporaneous prices in Manchester. Secondly, these fabrics would be here in the midst of us, instead of being four thousand miles



away, and we should receive them free of any charge for freights, insurance, custom-house duties, or importers' profits. All these things, freight excepted, affect chiefly the finer and more costly goods. They impose a burthen, under our present revenue tariff, upon imported cottons laid down in the city of New York, of no less than 45 per cent upon the prime cost. Our indirect mode of trading forces us to add to this the New York importer's profit of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, and the further expense of sending out here, of 10 per cent more—amounting in all to hardly less than 80 per cent taxation to you upon the New York imported cottons now on the shelves of your merchants in Tuscaloosa.\* Supposing the direct trade substituted, however, there is still no escape from the permanent tax of nearly 50 per cent upon all your importations of manufactured cottons—a tax to be super-added to that which arises from the increased expense of the raw material. If the cost of running the mill would be any thing greater here, it would not be sufficient to affect materially the general result ; as is proved by the successful competition of the coarser New England muslins with those of Manchester in the London market ; while the current expenses of manufacturing are no greater here than in New England.

The amount of British cottons, therefore, which our merchants now receive for every hundred dollars expended through New York, could be furnished by a British mill, under British direction, on the banks of the *Warrior*, for fifty-five dollars ; while the mill-owner would pocket a handsome profit by the operation.

Let us look into the effect of our policy upon some other of our important interests :

Our importations of woollens, if made direct, are taxed to the extent of 55 per cent ; if introduced through the North, to no less than 92 per cent.

Our Sheffield cutlery pays also 55 per cent, as directly imported ; and indirectly—that is, as usually, at present  
—92.

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\* See note B.

Our hardware from Birmingham pays 75 per cent up to New York, and 117 here.

Our crockery hollow ware is subject to the enormous burthen of 130 per cent in New York, and 200 to 300 in Tuscaloosa.

The superior article of similar description, called granite, is taxed 100 per cent to the Northern importer, and 150 or upward to our own merchants.

Common plates, and common cups and saucers, pay 125 per cent in New York, and more than 200 here.

Such are a few of the burdens to which the whole South placidly and contentedly submits, under a tariff constructed strictly with a view to revenue. Who would believe that a people, who can sit down calm as a summer's morning under a system of taxation so utterly ruinous and so absolutely self-imposed, could be roused to fury by the addition of 10 or 20 per cent duty to the revenue standard ; more especially when that very addition is designed to break up this most pernicious system of national improvidence, by which our wealth is swallowed up as fast as it is made.

But to return to our hypothetical cotton-mill. If British enterprise could produce the results which I have stated here, in the very midst of us, why may not we go and do likewise ? I anticipate the answer. We have not the experience, we have not the skill, we have not the tact to adapt our fabrics to the condition of the market. If we build the mill, set up the machinery, and plunge into the manufacture, we shall flounder like one who ventures beyond his depth without having learned to swim ; we shall make shipwreck of our capital, and squander our toil—we shall spend our money for that which is not bread, and our labor for that which satisfieth not. So shall the last state of Alabama be worse than the first. To this I reply that the answer is a good one so far as it goes, and perfectly satisfactory but for a single oversight. The native Southern man who never saw a cotton-mill is no more to be supposed competent to direct one, than any individual of this audience, selected at random, is to be presumed capable of playing

the violin the first time the instrument is put into his hands. We have not at present the experience and skill, it is admitted. What then? We must import them. We must not only erect the mills and purchase the machinery, but we must bring here also the men who are to manage them. This is the absolute and only condition of success. If it were not so, every thing which I have said of the value of skill would be founded in false philosophy. All special education, of every kind, would be worthless, and we should be compelled to admit the absurdity, that whatever any one man can do, every other can do as well.

Take a simple illustration. Our splendid rivers are navigated by hundreds of steamers, bearing the rich products of our soil to our ports, and bringing back the immense amounts of imported goods which we now annually consume. This was not always so. The early navigation of the rivers, not of this only, but of every land, was conducted in slow-sailing sloops and schooners, and still more sluggish and uncouth flat-boats and barges. The application of steam to locomotion on the water was a triumph of human perseverance and invention, of inappreciable value. Its introduction upon the rapid rivers of the South was a measure which immediately assumed the importance of an absolute necessity. It was introduced; but no man dreamed of the folly of putting engines of such enormous power, surrounded with so fearful dangers, into the hands of men unacquainted with their construction and unpractised in their management. The necessity of importing, along with the new power, the heads and hands which were competent to govern it, was palpable to all.

The application is obvious. If we would build up any art among us, we must bring here not merely the brute machines which are necessary to its operations, but the practised skill which can turn them to good account.

I do not mean that our master workmen and superintendents must always be aliens to our soil. By no means. When any branch of industry shall have obtained a secure

footing among us, hundreds of native artisans will spring up to give it direction. Our first establishments will be our normal schools of industry ; but we shall no longer need foreign guidance when we are once able to go alone.

I see nothing objectionable in this proposition. It is no discredit to us that we are deficient in knowledge ; but if we refuse to learn, we shall be highly censurable. Some may be disposed to repel the idea of calling in aid from a quarter which they deem unfriendly. To such I would cite the familiar Roman maxim, the wisdom of which has been admitted by all succeeding ages, "*Fas est et ab hoste doceri !*"—it is good policy to learn even of our enemies. Let us act upon this principle—let us endeavor to diversify the applications of our industry without ever attempting, unguided by experience, tasks to which none among us have ever been educated—and we shall very soon attain to that real and substantial independence, which nothing in Federal legislation can ever undermine.

Other incidental but important advantages would flow from the adoption of this policy. Instead of a sparsely scattered population, we should presently see thriving towns and villages springing up throughout our territory ; thus multiplying everywhere the blessings of social life. Better schools and more of them would be brought to the doors of almost every family. Feeble churches would grow strong ; and to thousands, who now never so much as hear the sound of the church-going bell, would be regularly proclaimed the glad tidings of salvation. By the more intimate and constant contact of man with man, the courtesies of life would come to be more regarded, manners would be softened, and tastes cultivated to a higher degree of refinement. Associations for intellectual improvement would become possible. Libraries, reading-rooms, forensic clubs, lecture-halls, and all the various means by which a busy population is able to mingle instruction with entertainment, would come into existence in a thousand places. Our people would thus become not only richer, but more polished, more enlightened, and better, at the same time.



Moreover, our population would go on increasing in numbers in a higher ratio than heretofore. The tide of immigration from abroad has hitherto flowed almost exclusively over the States of the North. The reason has been, that the cotton-growing States have been able to offer no inducements to turn it aside. Southern agriculture is ill adapted to European hands—and what occupation but agriculture has the South had to offer? Here and there, where an unfrequent railroad has presented occasional employment, the sturdy arms of Irish or German excavators have been called on for their aid; but nowhere has there existed a demand steady enough to secure an unbroken inward current. Let the arts lift up their heads among us, and all this will be changed. We shall attract to ourselves at least our share of that great influx from abroad, which now goes to swell exclusively the immense Northern sea of human life; and we shall assimilate to ourselves, and convert into defenders, thousands and tens of thousands of those who would else fall naturally into the ranks of our assailants.

The effect of this would be twofold. It would detract something from the increase of Northern population, and add something to ours. In the progress of years this process would distinctly tell upon the relative numbers of the two great sections of the Union; and our relative strength in the councils of the nation would steadily increase.

Time will not permit me to follow these ideas further. But I cannot close without suggesting one additional consideration in favor of the policy I have been recommending. The South is rich to-day, because the product of her industry is in increasing demand. But as that product is single, her riches have no firmer basis than the permanence of the demand which creates them. Let cotton give place, even partially, to other materials, in the manufacture of textile fabrics, and a deathblow will be given to the cotton-growing industry of America. A suggestion like this may perhaps excite a smile from those who hear me; and yet it is neither absurd nor impossible—perhaps not even improbable. This is mani-

fest from considering the history of cotton itself. A century ago this article had no commercial importance at all in the markets of the world. In 1741, 4000 bales was the total amount imported from all sources into the British islands. In 1760, the value of all the British manufactured cottons put together did not reach one million of dollars. At the close of the war of the American Revolution, Great Britain manufactured, still, less than 25,000 bales per annum. In forty years she had scarcely increased her operations by 20,000 bales. Had an Englishman at this time predicted before a London audience that in the year 1850 any serious interruption to the cotton manufacture of England would be sufficient to endanger the security of the sovereign on her throne, and possibly to shatter into fragments the empire itself, his prediction would have been met with the same incredulous smile with which you may be disposed to receive my suggestion of to-day.

Why may *not* something else supersede cotton in the manufacture of woven goods? Because, you will reply, nothing else can possibly compete with it in cheapness. But cotton was not always cheap. It was known and used in Europe for a century or more before it could compete with wool or flax. How did it acquire this new quality, which has given to its manufacture an importance second perhaps to that of none other existing in the whole range of human industry? By the simple exercise of a little ingenuity in improving the methods of separating it from the seed.

Why may not similar ingenuity be yet exerted upon other materials, with similar success? It is affirmed that this is likely to be done in the case of flax. A process has been invented, which is said to be entirely successful, by means of which the fibre of the plant is made to resemble most completely, in appearance and mechanical properties, cotton prepared for spinning. So remarkable is the similarity, that it may be spun by the same machinery, with nearly or quite the same facility, as cotton itself; and to come at once to the point of principal interest, the manufactured product is fully as cheap.

Such are the statements which have thus far reached us. It remains to be seen to what degree they will be verified by more extensive experiment.

But, it may be asked, where is the raw material to be obtained in quantity to compare with the three millions or more of bales of cotton now supplied by the two Americas, India, and Egypt? There will be no difficulty on this head. It will come if it is wanted. The cotton-growing regions are mere patches on the face of the earth compared with those which are adapted to the culture of flax. It is that fact indeed which gives to us our present enormous advantage.\* Now suppose a competition of this formidable character to spring up against our great staple. The arm of our present strength will be paralyzed, and national ruin will come upon us like a thief in the night. Even now we experience disastrous effects from occasional and temporary depression of prices. What may we not anticipate when prices fall permanently below the cost of production?

I do not undertake to say that this danger is immediately upon us. It is by no means ascertained that the present experiment will succeed. But the fact that such experiments are possible, and that some one may sooner or later put at hazard our most vital interests, warns us significantly of the folly of embarking all our fortunes in a single bottom. If by diversifying our labor, if by cultivating amongst us all those useful arts by which wealth is retained at home, and accumulated where it is retained, we arrive at that substantial independence to which wisdom teaches us to aspire, we shall be prepared for any reverse which affects but a single interest. Poverty or riches, want or abundance, will no longer depend for us upon the turning of a die. Strong in the multitude of our resources, we shall always be prepared for what the morrow may bring forth. We shall no longer seem to ourselves to be accumulating food for cormorants to feed on, or lavishing upon others the aliment which should fatten ourselves.

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\* See note C.

Perhaps, when we shall have familiarized ourselves with the same pursuits which have made our Northern brethren prosperous, and when all parts of our common country shall be more nearly assimilated in interests, we shall find fewer causes of contention in the halls of our national legislature, and fewer occasions for asperity in the language we apply to each other. Perhaps we shall become more truly in fact what our fathers were before us, and what we too are still in name—a united people.

But if this may not be, if the lamentable schisms which divide us are fated to grow wider and wider, if we are doomed to see the glorious flag of our republic rent in twain, and the fair temple of liberty in which we have so long worshipped together given over dismantled to crumble into ruin, then at least may we of the South feel, in that day of darkness, that we have within ourselves every element of an empire, and that when we decree our separation from our Northern brethren, we are truly independent of all the world.

Decree our separation! On this unwelcome theme permit me for one moment to dwell. Permit me, before I conclude, to add one word of warning, one word of entreaty, one word of deep, earnest, most certainly patriotic, conviction. For *what* should we decree our separation? That the broad barrier of the Constitution, which now forms our impregnable rampart against the rabid abolitionism of England, and the no less dangerous socialism of France, may be broken down, and leave us exposed to formidable assaults upon all our boundaries, and vexatious annoyances in all our intercourse with the world? That the combined fanaticism of all Christendom may plot unmolested against our peace, may harass all our borders with marauding incursions, and instigate servile war in the very heart of our quiet land? That the obligation to respect, protect, and restore our property, which now shields our widely exposed Northern frontier—an obligation not cheerfully fulfilled, if you please, but still an obligation, and still—mark that—fulfilled, nevertheless—may be utterly swept away, to give place to a never-ceasing border war expanding at



frequent intervals into general hostilities? Is it for these things that we are to decree our separation? If not, then for what other, and for what better?

What was it I heard? A foreign alliance? Did some one seem to say that Britain, in terror of her operatives, and dependant on the cotton-growing States for her only security against convulsion, would gladly receive us under the shadow of her wing? Did I hear the remark that this all-powerful mistress of the waves would eagerly seize the proffered privilege of fighting for us our battles against the North, and that a British line-of-battle ship off the harbor of Charleston would blow the revenue-cutters of the Union—aye, and the frigates too—like so many fishing smacks, out of the water? If I did not hear that language here I have heard it elsewhere. And shall we yield ourselves up to so fatal a delusion as this? Great Britain needs your cotton, you say, and therefore she will help you. And this remark you make of the grand robber of the civilized world—a nation whose career has been signalized by depredation wherever her adventurers have penetrated and wherever her flag has flown, whose cry, like that of the daughters of the horse-leech, has been everywhere, “Give, give”—a nation whose track over India and the farthest East has been marked by bloodshed, rapine and plunder, the gripe of whose covetous hand your own fathers felt at their throats, and who would now be fattening herself upon your life-blood also, but for that devoted heroism in them which we are assembled this day to commemorate. And this nation it is which you expect to give you something. Deceive not yourselves, fellow-citizens. Great Britain never gives where she has the power to take. She needs your cotton—granted. You need her manufactures—she knows it. If she must buy or perish, you must sell or starve. And which, in a contest of this kind, do you think has power to hold out the longest? Certainly not you. But suppose you have; will this bring her to your terms? You seem to imagine that if you will not willingly give her your cotton she cannot get it. Inconceivable error! You tell us that her very exist-

ence is at stake if you stop her mills. Grant this to be true, and I tell you that you cannot stop them. Instead of coming to your terms, she will force you to hers. You say she fears the rabble of her unemployed operatives. What is to prevent her turning that rabble loose upon you? Do I hear you say that you will never be wanting to the vindication of your independence and the defence of your firesides? I hope not; yet my heart sickens when I meet, at every turn, still the same trumpet-cry of conflict, still the same menace of blood!

But you answer, triumphantly, England will sooner make terms than fight. War is fearfully expensive, and England totters on the verge of national bankruptcy. True—and therein lies the very hopelessness of the case. England cannot come to terms with you without fighting an enemy more formidable than you will be—the confederated states from which you will have torn yourselves away. Unfortunately the army, the navy, all the stores and munitions of war, the custom-houses of the great sea-ports, and, more than all, the immense superiority of numbers, will remain on the side of the confederacy. You propose that England shall become your ally in the war. Mercenary England always counts the cost, the more especially since she has no money to throw away. What is to prevent her becoming the ally of the North against you? Certainly this would be her cheapest, her surest, her most direct route to the object of her wishes. And the cotton which you expect her to buy on your terms she will force you to sell on her own. Nor will it constitute the slightest objection to such a proceeding in her eyes, that while with one hand she grasps your cotton, with the other she may liberate your slaves.

These remarks may not be acceptable, but are they not true? And if they are, is it not necessary that such truths should be plainly spoken and deeply pondered? Decree our separation! If it is for this, or any thing like this, that we are to be delivered from our present grievances, better, far better, is it that we

" Bear those ills we have,  
Than fly to others that we know not of."

And are we to consider ourselves alone? Is nothing due to that sublime mission which has been confided to us, the propagation and universal diffusion of free principles throughout the world? Shall we esteem as of no account the prayers of the manacled thousands in other and less happy lands who are stretching out their hands to us and imploring us not to extinguish the fires upon the only altars of pure liberty beneath the arch of heaven? Is this peaceful asylum of the persecuted of all countries to be converted into a pandemonium of anarchy and carnage, where life is even less secure than in the blood-stained domains of despotism whence they have fled?

Decree our separation! For any cause that has yet arisen, be the thought cast out with loathing and horror! Decree our separation! While the constitution still continues to throw over us its sheltering shield let not the suggestion dare again to intrude upon our minds! Decree our separation! God in His infinite mercy forbid!

## NOTES.

### NOTE A.

(Referred to on page 12.)

THE view here taken of the real causes which have led to the existing war upon the Union has not perhaps been before distinctly presented out of South Carolina, but within that State all affectation of concealment on the subject is at length laid aside. The following is from a recent number of the *Charleston Mercury*:

"Many of our resistance friends argue *as if the sole purpose of our taking issue with the Federal Government was the protection and maintenance of the institution of slavery.* Hence, they reason, secession is not the best method of effecting our object. *This is a narrow, and, as we think, a very erroneous, view of the whole matter.* THE INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY WAS NOT THE FIRST, nor will it be the last, *interest of the South assailed by the Government.* The struggle in which we are involved is not for the defence of one interest but every interest vital to freedom. It is for liberty itself. The institution has been assailed because that was one of the most effectual ways of depriving us of independence, and *because by SUBMISSION TO OTHER ENCROACHMENTS we have made the North believe we could be assailed with impunity.*

"We do not govern ourselves, but are governed, and, as Langdon Cheves forcibly says, "governed by our bitter enemies." Being ruled, our rulers have thought fit to interfere with the institution of slavery. It was one way, and a most effectual one, of expressing their hostility. *But if we had not PREVIOUSLY submitted to be governed by those who now assail this institution, it would never have been assailed.* The attempt to overthrow it is a consequence merely of the political inferiority imposed upon us, and submitted to by us, through PREVIOUS LEGISLATION. *If we had maintained our equality in THE VITAL MATTER OF THE IMPOSITION AND EXPENDITURE OF TAXES we should never have been attacked on the side of our domestic institutions.* The general government, *thus checked,* and kept within the limits of the general purposes for which it was established, could not have become the government of a section, and no sectional warfare on slavery could ever have been made by Congress.

"*But we submitted to sectional legislation in THE IMPOSITION AND DISBURSEMENT OF TAXES.* The next stride was natural, if not inevitable, sectional legislation against that interest that most definitely and strongly distinguished the sections from each other. *We surrendered our liberties WHEN WE SUBMITTED TO PAY TAXES levied by the North openly and avowedly to advance their own interests.* HERE WAS OUR FALL—alas, what a fall! for a free people in a Confederacy, the vital principle of which was equality!

"*IF THE INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY HAD NEVER EXISTED, OR NEVER BEEN ASSAILED, the Union, as it now is, would be an INTOLERABLE DESPOTISM, which ought either to be reformed or ABOLISHED.*"



This writer very candidly avows that the aggressions upon our rights as slaveholders are not the sole, nor even the principal, grievances for which secession is urged as a remedy. They have been found a very effectual—in fact the only effectual—means of creating a popular ferment out of South Carolina ; but now, when the feeling is presumed to be up, the instigators uncover the old sore and tell us that “ we surrendered our liberties when we submitted to pay taxes,” with much more of the same kind. The “ previous legislation” of twenty years ago, then, is still the great grievance in South Carolina. Suppose our Alabama secessionists should preach the same doctrine ; what success would they meet with ?

The writer of the *Mercury* seems to take it for granted that the Federal Government systematically oppresses South Carolina—not with any very definite object in view, but simply for the gratification it affords. He assumes a settled enmity to exist toward his state on the part of every body north of Mason & Dixon’s line, and declares that the Union ought to be abolished, *independently of any controversy about slavery !* This is tolerably distinct, significant, intelligible. Will Alabama volunteer to help South Carolina fight over again her old nullification quarrel ?

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NOTE B.

(Referred to on page 25.)

EXPENSE OF DIRECT IMPORTATION.

Cotton goods, prime cost .....	\$1 00
Duty, 25 per cent.....	25
Commissions in England .....	5
Receiving and forwarding commissions, cartage, dock dues, cases, etc.....	10
Insurance, freight, etc.....	5
Cost, as directly imported .....	\$1 45

ADDITIONAL EXPENSES—INDIRECT IMPORTATION.

Cost as laid down in New York.....	\$1 45
Twelve and one half per cent, importer’s profit .....	18
New York cost to Alabama merchant .....	\$1 63
Ten per cent expenses out .....	163
Cost in Tuscaloosa.....	\$1 793

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NOTE C.

(Referred to on page 31).

THE most recent accounts which have appeared in this country in regard to Mr. Claussen’s process for the preparation and manufacture of flax have been contained in the London letters to the editor of the New York



*Tribune.* In regard to the economical question, Mr. Claussen's statements are given as follows :

" He says the flax straw, or the ripe, dry plant, as it comes from the field, with the seed taken off, may be grown even in England for \$10 per ton ; but he will concede its cost for the present to be \$15 per ton, delivered, as it is necessary that liberal inducements shall be given [for its extensive cultivation. Six tons of the straw or flax in the bundle will yield one ton of dressed and clean fibre, the cost of dressing which by this method, so as to make it flax-cotton, is \$35 per ton. (Our superior Western machinery ought considerably to reduce this.) The total cost of the flax-cotton, therefore, will be \$125 per ton, or six cents per pound, while flax, as it comes from the field, is worth \$15 per ton ; should this come down to \$10 per ton, the cost of the fibre will be reduced to \$95 per ton, or less than five cents per pound."

" Mr. Claussen's process, it is said, requires but three hours for its completion. It takes the flax as it came from the field, only somewhat drier, and with the seed beaten off, and renders it thoroughly fit for breaking. The plant is allowed to ripen before it is harvested, so that the seed is all saved, while the tediousness and injury to the fibre, not to speak of the unwholesomeness of the old-fashioned rotting processes, are entirely obviated. Where warmth is desirable in the fabrics contemplated, the staple is made to resemble wool quite closely. Specimens dyed red, blue, yellow, etc., are exhibited to show how readily and satisfactorily the flax cotton takes any color that may be desired. Beside these lie rolls of flannels, feltings, and almost every variety of plain textures, fabricated wholly or in good part from flax as prepared for spinning under Mr. Claussen's patent, proving the adaptation of this fibre to almost every use now subserved by either cotton or wool. The mixtures of cotton and flax, flax-cotton and wool, are excellent and serviceable fabrics."

## INDEPENDENCE ODE.

*Written for the celebration at Tuscaloosa, Ala., July 4th, 1851.*

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BY PROF. F. A. P. BARNARD.

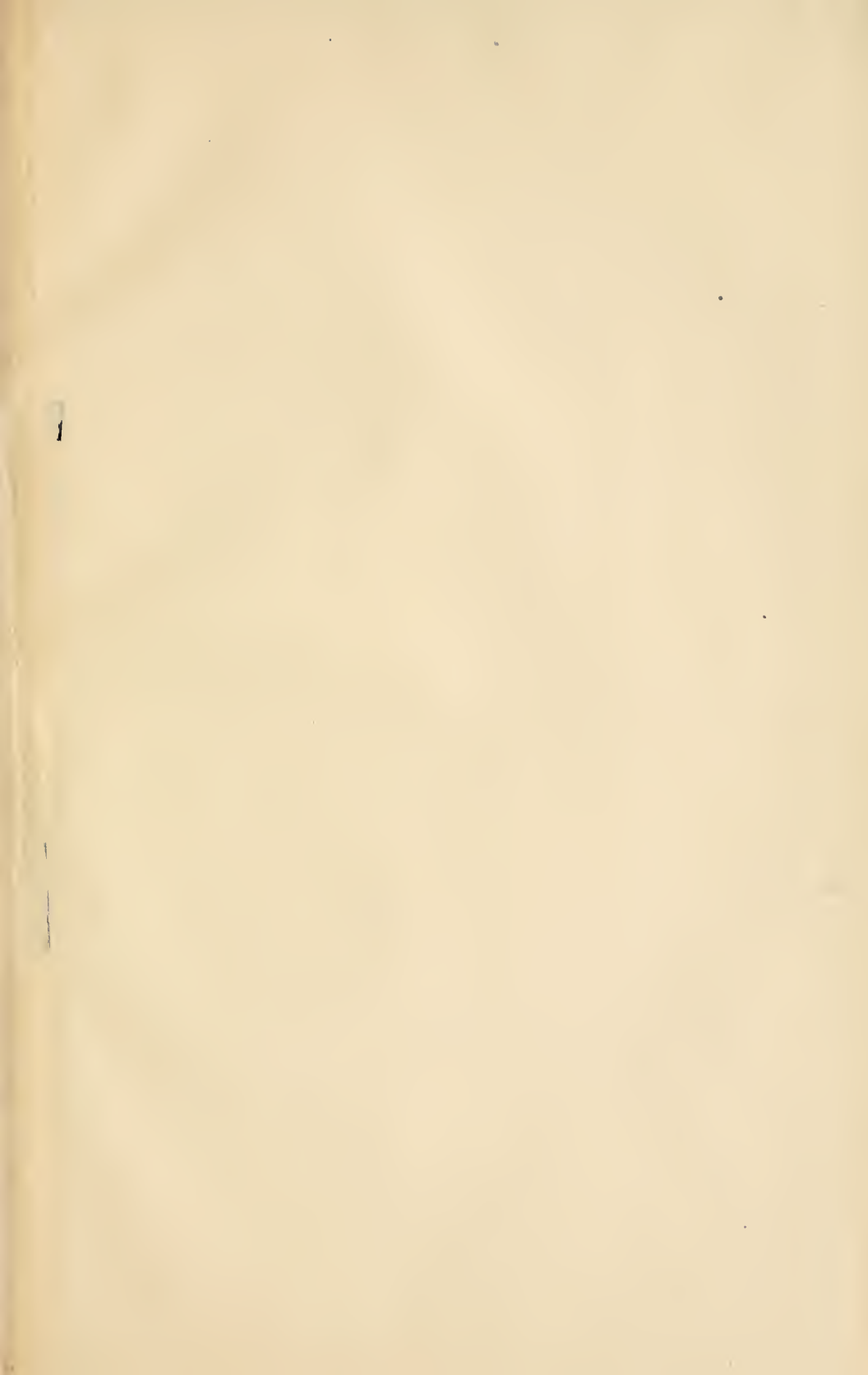
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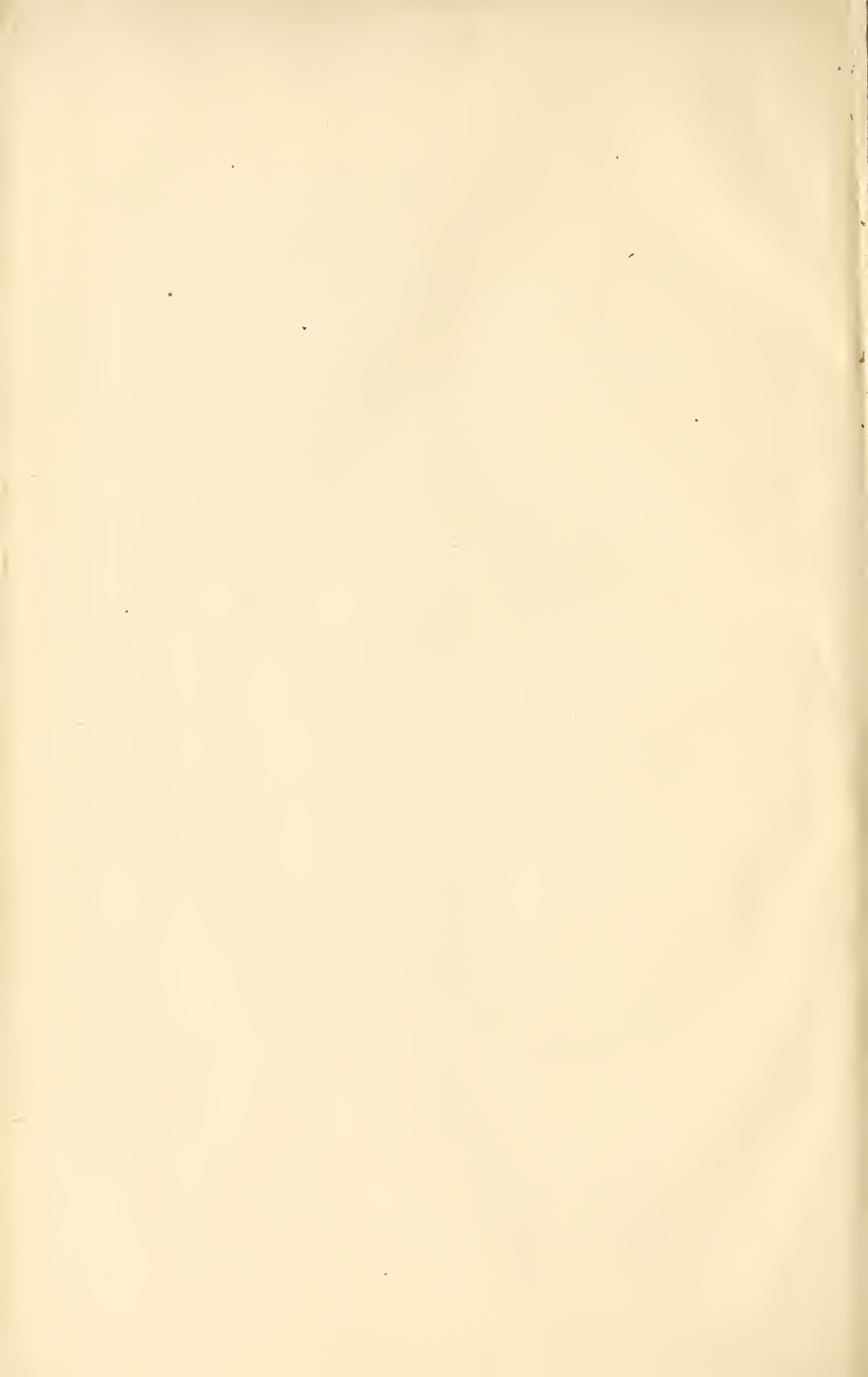
'Tis the day of freedom's birth ;  
Fling her starry banner forth ;  
Let it wave, from South to North,  
    In her own blue sky.  
Floating wide, from sea to sea,  
On the breath of liberty,  
Let that gloricus standard be  
    Ever borne on high.

Who its onward course would bar ?  
Who its lustrous folds would mar ?  
*Who would blot away a star ?*  
    Let him come not near.  
Who would bear it proudly on,  
Till its world-wide course is run ?  
Of his sire, a worthy son,  
    Let him join us here.

By that sainted hero, sage,  
Whose great deeds—our heritage—  
Fill with brightness hist'ry's page,  
    By our Washington.  
We will cling, till hope expires,  
To the charter of our sires,  
With a grasp that never tires,  
    Till our course is run.















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